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The Survival of the Fittest

BY ROBERT BLATCHFORD, OF ENGLAND

One of the favorite arguments of the Gradgrinds in support of competition is the theory of the Survival of the Fittest.

They say that those who fail, fail because they are not fitted to succeed: They say that those who succeed, succeed because they are "fit." They say it is the law of Nature that the weakest shall go to the wall, and to the wall with them—and no quarter.

The slumites live in the slums because they are unfit to live anywhere else. The Duke of Marlborough lives in a palace because the intellectual and moral superiority of such a man naturally forced him into a palace.

Burns was a ploughman; Bunyan was a tinker, Lord Chesterfield was a peer. The composer of the popular waltz, "The Masher's Dream," makes ten thousand a year, and lives in a mansion. Richard Jefferies and James Thomson died poor and neglected.

Jay Gould had boundless wealth and tremendous power. Walt Whitman had a modest competence, and no power at all. Or, as the most vivid example I can give you of the great law of the Survival of the Fittest, let me remind you that Brigham Young was a prophet and a ruler, wealthy and honoured; and that Christ lived a mendicant preacher, and died the death of a felon.

And all these things are justified by the glorious law that the fittest shall survive!

According to the law of Nature the man who is best suited by the conditions of the country and the society he lives in will be best fitted to succeed.

In a nation of marauders, then, who live by spoilation and the sword, the fittest to survive would be a different type of man from him who gets first place in a nation of traders, where fierceness and strength of arm are less called for than tenacity and clearness of head.

It thus appears that when we say our poor are poor because they are not fitted to gain wealth, we mean that they are not "fit" to gain wealth under the conditions of life now existing. But under different conditions of life they might succeed

If, then, the present conditions of life are right, the poor are wrong; but if the present conditions of life are not right, the poor are WRONGED.

Therefore, it seems that this theory of the Survival of the Fittest is no answer to our indictment against Society. It proves nothing except that if the poor are unworthy they are unworthy. The question, are they unworthy, or is it the arrangement of Society that is unworthy, has still to be answered.

One condition of Society enables one kind of man to succeed. Another condition of Society enables another kind of man to succeed. Now *would you say that was the best condition of society that gave to the lowest type of humanity the pre-eminence?* Or would you say that was the best condition of society that gave the highest type of humanity the pre-eminence?

Granting that the noblest is really the most proper to survive, *is it not desirable that the conditions of society should be so moulded and arranged that noble qualities shall have full play and base qualities be kept in check?* I think that is clear enough, and I now ask you to consider whether Society, as it is at present constituted, enables the law of the Survival of the Fittest to work for evil or for good.

FOR HUNDREDS OF AGES WE HAVE BEEN IMPRISONING, MURDERING, PERSECUTING AND STARVING OUR BRUNOS, OUR PAULS, OUR SOCRATES, OUR RALEIGHS, OUR JOANS OF ARC, AND HAVE HEAPED REWARDS AND HONOURS ON OUR ALEXANDERS, OUR BONAPARTES, OUR JAY GOULDS, OUR ROTHSCHILDS. ARE WE TO GO ON FOR EVER IN THE WORSHIP OF USURY AND SLAUGHTER AND INTRIGUE? ARE WE STILL TO MAKE THE BASEST THE FITTEST TO SURVIVE? TO BLESS POWER ABOVE BENEVOLENCE? SHALL WE NEVER HAVE DONE ADMIRING AND OBEYING OUR BRIGHAM YOUNGS, NOR CRUCIFYING OUR CHRISTS, nor scorning those who follow Him and such as He?

No sensible man would attempt to oppose a law of Nature. ALL natural laws are right. No natural law can be resisted. But before we give to any law implicit obedience we shall be wise to examine its credentials. Natural laws we MUST obey. [illegible] and all triumphant laws of Nature. Let us begin, in this case, by asking whether the law of prey, which seems to be a natural and inevitable statute among the brutes, has any right of jurisdiction in the courts of humanity. Is there any difference between man and the brutes? If there is a difference, in what does it consist?

We need not get into a subtle investigation on this matter. It is sufficient to use common terms, and say that man has intellect; animals only instinct. Consider the consequences of this difference. We have spoken and written language, which beasts have not. We have imagination, which beasts have not. We have memory, history, sciences, religions, which beasts have not. And we have intellectual progress, which beasts have not. I might go a great deal deeper into this matter, but I want to keep to plain speech and simple issues. Man has REASON; beasts have not.

Now reason is a natural thing in man. Nature gave him reason, because reason is necessary to the working out of his development, and I mean to say that by reason we are to be guided, and not by the law of prey, which is a natural check and balance put upon unreasoning creatures. By how much a man's reason excels a brute's instincts is the man better than the brute. By how much one man's reason excels that of his fellows is he better than they. *By how much any policy of human affairs is more reasonable than another policy is it best fitted to survive.*

It seems, then, that the law of the Survival of the Fittest does apply to mankind; but it works with them in a manner different to that in which it works with the brutes.

Before we go any further with this theory of the Survival of the Fittest, let me ask you one question. Will you tell me, Mr. Smith, who ARE the fittest to survive? A great deal depends upon our answer to that question. *All wealth is got by plunder.* If instead of making laws to stop the depredations of the sweater we repealed the laws for the repression of the garrotter, we should soon fall into anarchy—that is, into a state of savagery, such as is understood by the word anarchy. The race to the swift. The battle to the strong. The weak to the wall. The vanquished to the sword. A perfect realization of the Survival of the Fittest. THEN THE MAN WITH THE MOST STRENGTH AND FEROCITY WOULD TAKE BY FORCE OF ARMS THE GOODS OF THE WEAK AND TIMID—AND THEIR LIVES. Which all of us would call sheer plunder But COMMERCIALISM IS JUST A WAR OF WITS—A GAMBLING OR FIGHTING WITH WEAPONS OF PARCHMENT AND THE LIKE, and really plunder by force of cunning instead of by force of arms. And BOTH THESE FORMS OF PLUNDER ARE FORMS IN WHICH THE BASER INTELLECT AND THE MORE BRUTAL PHYSIQUE WILL ALWAYS BE SUCCESSFUL. In personal conflict, SOCRATES WOULD BE NO MATCH FOR J. L. SULLIVAN; in commerce, JESUS CHRIST WOULD BE EXPLOITED BY JAY GOULD—AS HE WAS, IN FACT, BY JUDAS.

Is there any natural obstacle to the establishment of a community on just terms? Is there any known law of Nature that denies bread to the industrious and forces wealth upon the idle? *If a natural law makes waste and want imperative what is that law?* Natural law as far as I DO know it is against this unjust distribution. Natural law punishes gluttony, and as ruthlessly punishes privation. Nature racks the gourmand and the sluggard with gout, or disfigures him with dropsy, and the starveling and the unresting drudge she visits with consumption and with pestilence. She strikes the miser with a Midas curse—turning his bowels to gold, and she brands the drunkard, the libertine, and the brawler with the mark of the beast. Nature everywhere ordains TEMPERANCE. How, then, can wealth or indulgence be justified in her name. How can we say that the millions of poor slain by unnatural conditions of life are the victims of Nature's laws?

To whose interest is it that the poor should suffer? *Do their sorrow and travail confer an atom of benefit on any* OF GOD'S CREATURES? Injustice is a thing accursed. It does not, never did, and never will confer a benefit on any man. The man who does an injustice suffers for it in his moral nature. He gains nothing, though he makes wealth. For no man can use more than he needs, and Justice would give all men that. The men to whom an injustice is done suffer, and be they many or few, Society suffers because of their suffering.

The Survival of the Fittest is a question of conditions. It can have no great power in the England of today. The Survival of the Fittest is another name for Anarchy. Our Society is one bound by law. THE UNFETTERED "RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE" IS ANARCHY. AND IT IS BAD. It is bad because IN A STATE OF SOCIAL WARFARE, WARFARE TO EXTERMINATION POINT, THE BASEST AND THE VILEST HAVE THE ADVANTAGE, FOR THE VILE MAN AND THE BASE WILL FIGHT WITH LESS RUTH AND FEWER SCRUPLES.

So much for the survival of the fittest. So much for LAISSEZ FAIRE. The man who accepts the LAISSEZ FAIRE doctrine WOULD ALLOW HIS GARDEN TO RUN WILD, SO THAT THE ROSES MIGHT FIGHT IT OUT WITH THE WEEDS and the strong might survive.

God will not look you over for medals, degrees and diplomas, but for SCARS. —*The Philistine.*

The Highest Good

GOD'S dwelling place is not in realms apart,
Whose heights no mortal foot have ever trod;
Truth's home is ever in the human heart—
Who walks with Truth may walk on earth with God.

—*Thin Watson's Magazine.*

The Cry of The Proletariat

Paul H. Castle.

Oh Church of God awake! Tear from thine eyes
The cursed veil that hides thy brother's woe.
He is not bound with galling chains of steel,
Nor driven with the master's angry lash,
Nor bound as serf forever to the soil,
As in the loathsome days of ancient greed.
But lo! Still is he bound and does he serve;
There is a lash that cuts into his soul;
There is a power that holds him fast to earth;
There is a master unrelenting as
The untamed beast upon its helpless prey.

He scents fair Freedom's breeze and tries to rise;
And when upon him falls his master's gaze,
He hopeless, helpless, falls again to earth.
The lash of hunger drives him on, and bound
Forever to the task of getting bread,
In toil he holds eternal converse with
The baser elements that wreck his soul.

Oh Christ of Galilee, the Way, the Truth,
The Life rejected, Peasant Wanderer,
Despised by rich and great, Thou rebel to
The hated forms of Greed and Tyranny,
In Caesar's Kingdom, Insurrectionist,
Whose hands were roughened by the toil for bread,
Whose feet were bruised in the path of service,
Whose robe was soiled in contact with the slave,
Come Thou into the Temple of the world
And fully cleanse it with the scourge of Truth,
Driving out the traders in human life.

No more shalt Thou be crucified, or by
A traitor's kiss, betrayed to sinful men;
For ALL of us who feel the Tyrant's lash,
Now in Gethsemane hold watch with Thee.
And this time from Thy lips shall pass that "cup,"
For we have drained its bitter dregs with Thee,
And only Thy triumphal entry we
Await, our Saviour and our Comrade Christ.

The Trusts and Their Methods. II.

BY REV. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

Elimination of competition, increase of profits, steadiness of production and control of prices, labor and the middleman, are some of the chief advantages secured by the trust method of production, as viewed by the manufacturer. These advantages are evidently of such weight to manufacturers that they have made use of this method with rapidly increasing frequency and persistence. They have fully recognized as the result of experience, that under competition they are obliged to sell at the dictation of the buyer, especially under conditions of crisis. Under the trust method they are able to control the supply and therefore to control prices. This means that profits are more certain, and that crises are prevented.

The Standard Oil Company was organized in 1882, and the American Sugar Refining Company in 1887. These were the earliest of the so-called trusts, and their success has led to the organization of other similar combinations in great numbers. The Standard Oil Company had been in existence since 1865, but as a corporation, and not as a developed trust. Before 1893 several trusts came into existence, and the trust method had obtained recognition. Very soon, however, it met with opposition. Organized wholly for purposes of business, the trust adopted methods repugnant to the American sense of justice and fair-dealing. It did away with competition, and that in itself was a source of bitter opposition. It amassed great wealth under the control of a single corporation, sometimes of one man; and this was discussed with eagerness and severe criticism. Its methods were secret, its plan of organization unknown. This gave occasion for many dark surmises and suspicions. That it secured rebates from the railroads, and that it brought about monopoly in various lines of manufacturing, was understood. That it controlled legislation was often asserted.

These criticisms led to anti-trust laws being enacted in twenty-nine states. The trusts were curbed, but not killed. Many of them voluntarily went out of existence, some of them were forced to resolve themselves into their constituent elements the corporations out of which they were formed, and others died of the opposition. The stronger went on their way and were able to withstand the opposition. The chief legal cause of opposition was that the trusts were combinations in restraint of trade. They prevented the operation of the law of competition, they hindered freedom of contract, and they kept individuals from the exercise of the right of initiative.

It seemed probable that all trusts would be forced out of existence, especially when such great states as New York and Ohio fought them with the greatest vigor. In 1890 the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed by Congress, which created the Inter-State Commerce Commission, with considerable power of regulation. The result was not what had been anticipated, however, for the trusts soon had a new leash of life and greater prosperity than ever. In 1889 New Jersey adopted a corporation law which permitted the trusts of any State to carry on their business legally, whatever might be the laws of other States or even of the United States. By having an office in that State, with one of its directors resident therein, and by paying a small tax, any trust could do business anywhere in the United States under ample legal protection. The result was a rapid growth of the trusts after 1890, legal sanction given them in several States, and an era of unparelleled prosperity for the business man. That prosperity has been praised, and it has been criticised; but there can be no doubt that it existed for the trusts, and all connected with them and their interests.

With their growth in numbers and power criticism was heard again, and more vigorously. Not only were they condemned because of their restraint of trade, their monopoly, their concentration of wealth in a few hands, their control of railroads and legislatures; but they were said to increase prices, to dictate wages, to ruthlessly drive out of existence smaller concerns, to force merchants to sell their products, and to dictate the economic policy of the country.

The real advantages of the trusts were so great in the way of profits, that for which they existed, that criticism did them little harm. Yet the opposition was vigorous, and the demand for restraint upon their methods was insistent. Had they been wise enough to keep within the requirements of the law, had they been contented with a moderate rate of profits, it is probable the opposition would have soon died away. The evidence that the law was violated in the form of railroad rebates was unmistakable. For many years the evidence has been before Congress that this illegality existed.

It was when Mr. Roosevelt said that the law must be obeyed that Congress found it expedient to act. That the trusts should be law-abiding there can be no doubt. They should be compelled not only to obey the law, but to come out into the light of day with all their transactions. They should hide nothing, and they should have nothing to hide. No regard should be given to their interests more than to those of other men. Wealth should not be permitted to dictate, whether in individual hands or in those of a trust. Whatever they do that is opposed to the public welfare should be curbed, and no power of industrial combinations should be permitted to control the political interests of the nation.

To this extent the critics are in the right, that wherein the trusts are a menace to the public welfare, they should be brought into strict subjection. The question remains as to whether they indicate that a new industrial method has been discovered and utilized. In no small measure the attitude taken towards them has been dictated by industrial theories having their origin under conditions far different from those now existing. No one would go back to the stage-coach when the steam and electric roads are at hand. Is not the theory of the trust as a restraint of trade dictated by a stage-coach conception of business methods in manufacturing? All the conditions of industrial activities now require that competition shall not rule as it did in the primitive times of small-scale production.

In dealing with the trusts, therefore, two widely varient problems are presented. The first of these is that the trusts violate the laws and use methods detrimental to other individuals and to the public welfare. When these evils are remedied the trusts will remain. They represent an economic and industrial need of the time. They cannot be forced out of existence by legislation. They are a direct product of a large-scale productioon, the great factory, the world-market, and present economic demands.

In dealing with the trusts in order to secure that they shall be law-abiding, and respectful of the public welfare, it should not be assumed that they are economically out of place. What is needed is that we shall recognize how outgrown and antiquated are some of our most cherished theories. If competition is not dead it has undoubtedly taken a new place in the economic world. We cannot accept it as an irreversible law. Its evil results are too apparent and too great. We must recognize that the trust has in no inconsiderable degree set aside the law of competition, and shown that it was not in reality a law at all. What is requisite, therefore, is that we shall bring up our legal and economic methods to agree with this newer and truer conception of the assumed law of competition.

On this law of competition as its basis has rested the legal requirement that there shall exist no combinations in restraint of trade. Even the legal mind, and not less the legislative mind, is slow to accept new ideas. It is not scientific, open to immediate conviction on the testimony of facts, and clings to precedent. The basis of its methods is tradition, what has been hitherto accepted. Some time will be therefore required to secure legislation taking full cognizance of the trust as a method of combination just and right when used honestly and publicly. In due time this result will come about, and the trust will find its own place in the economic world and in legal sanction.

There can be little doubt that the trust will remain with us permanently. It is a direct outgrowth of the demands of the new industrial era in which we are living. We cannot assume, however, that the trust has reached its final form. It is most probably destined to many changes, to the criticism of a continuing experience, and to that process of development and adjustment required for all new industrial and social forces. The public will in time become accustomed to it and learn how to adjust their interests to its presence. The required laws will be found for its control. Its honesty will be secured with its legality, it is to be desired.

While the trust does undoubtedly secure greater profits by means of greater industrial efficiency, larger control of markets, and other aids it has developed for itself, that is not the whole of the problem. The interests of the nation are to be also considered, and

(*Continued on Page 7*)

The Christian Socialist FELLOWSHIP

REV. LUCIEN V. RULE, *Secretary*, GOSHEN, KY.

REV. WILLIAM A. WARD, *Treasurer*, HENDERSON, KY.

Truth And Love.

Truth placed his trumpet in my trembling hand
And bade me from the walls of Zion blow
A warning to Jerusalem below,
Oblivious of Jehovah's just command
Until his righteous wrath was fiercely fanned.
Princes and Pharisees passed to and fro
Mid palace splendor and proud temple show,
Heedless of widow wails in all the land.
"Sound loud Truth's malediction!" Justice cried;
But Love o'erwhelmed me, and my message died
Into a melody so faint and fine
Men scarcely listened to the word divine.
Yet its soft music, wafted far and wide,
Returned not void, but filled my Lord's design.
—L. V. R.

Comrade Ward is back from his vacation in Michigan, in good health and spirits, to resume his pastoral work at Henderson, Ky., and to push the Fellowship propaganda as we have opportunity. Let me suggest an idea of his to any member of the Executive Committee who is disposed to use the Fellowship stationery: "You will notice I have had letter heads printed here. Owing to our lack of funds at present I thought I would do this at my own expense. I shall use these in much of my correspondence and it may lead to some inquiries."

Only yesterday I was reading over again a powerful sermon that Comrade Ward preached on the Colorado situation when he was pastor of the Park Christian Church, New Albany, a year or two ago. He was one of the clearest and strongest men in Local New Albany, and this sermon, published in full in the Louisville **Courier Journal** at the time created a profound impression far and wide, bringing the fearless and justice-loving spokesman of Labor many commendations along with the criticism. His hold on the Louisville comrades was strong and true, showing how the working-class will respect and love a minister who declares for social righteousness. Better still, his hold on his congregation was deep and permanent. It is true his charge at New Albany was among the genuine, every day people, but he was beloved throughout the whole town, all classes and conditions knowing and respecting his high character and sincerity. When he preached the social sermon above mentioned he had so educated his congregation in social sentiment before hand, that what was a surprise and excitement to the capitalist-minded public outside, was received with perfect composure and approval within his home hearing. It chanced that Comrade Goodman and I attended the farewell service of Bro. Ward in New Albany just prior to his leaving for Henderson, Ky., and as he quietly talked to his people from the pulpit, reviewing their communion and fellowship of the past, I wish you could have seen the evidences of affection, the tear-stained faces, the fraternal looks, and you would have seen that a man with the Social Vision is still a power in the church and community. Comrade Ward is a modest, unassuming man, and I say these things for the sake of the example to all our comrade ministers—how we may live the Socialist life as followers of Jesus. Rev. H. W. Lloyd of Lagrange, a Christian minister and Christian Socialist in sentiment emphasizes the living example as the final test of a minister's power with the social message . How I honor and love the Comrades, almost legion, in the Christian church who are rallying to our common cause.

Rev. W. H. Ramsey, of Louisville, who so greatly assisted in the June Conference, has returned from his vacaion in New England. He preached a magnificent social message the first Sunday of Sept. He took the ground that the great swelling tide of social sentiment outside the Church, now beginning to manifest itself within and through the Church, is the true religious revival of the time, with which the Church must come in to harmony or lose its hold on the world of workers. I have rarely heard a nobler burst of soul than his plea for the common man: "This revolt has grown out of an awakening faith and confidence in the authority of reason and enlightened conscience, and in the divine worth of the common man. This revolt signifies that man is something more than stone to be ground into macadam for the economic elite and the moral elect to roll over in their automobiles and easy carriages!" And he added this encouraging word: "It is a fact that churches everywhere have waked up to see the moral and religious relations of all movements that make for better life and citizenship, for social and economic justice."

Proof of this is forthcoming. Comrades will recall my reference to the strong anti-capitalist editorials in the Louisville religious press since the Conference. Well, the very next number of the **Christian Observer** contained a strong article by a Presbyterian minister, Rev. D. W. Brannen, of Georgia. It is not improbable that the article by Comrade Strobell stirred him somewhat. At all events the social conscience is slowly awakening even in the far away, dreamy South. Mr. Brannen's article is, "Some Desirable Readjustments," i. e., the Church to social problems. Among other things he says: "We should have in every seminary in our Church a course in Christian Sociology. The greatest problems of the ages are knocking at our doors today. These problems have their moral and religious side. Therefore they appeal directly to the Church. And one of our most pressing needs is for the Church to find herself in the relation she sustains to these political and economic problems. She needs to learn the best methods of discharging the duty she owes both to the masses and the classes. If, as it is openly charged, the Church has lost her hold of the masses of workingmen, it is not because she is indifferent to the poor or filled with covetousness, but because of the ignorance that prevails among us, her ministers, of the best methods of reaching the working classes—a kind of ignorance that is unfortunate, and maybe criminal. Here again, is the thrilling opportunity of the seminaries. Let them give to their students an equipment in Christian Sociology that, when they go forth they can cope as masters wit hthe mighty problems which are crying for solution."

A very practical suggestion from Rev. Mr. Ramsey's sermon comes in well here: "It is not the function of the church to be a civic club, but it can furnish the incentive and inspiration, and lend its strongest moral influence to such movements by awakening public conscience, by creating and deeping the sense of social obligation, by helping to create and inspire the type of men and women that work for better conditions of life. The churches are beginning to see that this kind of work is a large part of religion."

Ferri's Criminology.

We wish to say a word of praise for the publisher of this book, which ought to be carefully read and pondered by all the readers of The Christian Socialist. It is not to be anticipated that every one will agree with all its conclusions, but it carefully summarizes one of the most important of the practical sciences dealing with the social life of man. Enrico Ferri stands next to Lombroso as a leader of the Italian school of crimoligy. His book on "The Positive School of Criminology" consists of three lectures given at the University of Naples in the spring of 1901, and has been translated by Ernest Untermann (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr, 50 cts.)

Ferri is the leader of the Socialist party in the Italian Parliament, a man of independence, learning, and power. What he writes deserves the most careful consideration. He writes as one who understands the significance of economic and social causes in the production of crime, that it is not individual wilfulness and depravity which causes unsocial acts of this nature. He is too genuine a scientist, however, to accept the conclusion that crime is wholly due to society, as some criminologists have contended. He points out the influence of poverty and riches in producing crime, but he also recognises heredity and racial influences.

The chief value of this little book, many will think, is to be found in the manner in which it points out the importance of preventing crime by a right method of dealing with those who are of criminal tendencies. It is not enough, Prof. Ferri clearly proves, to punish crime; but it must be prevented by a scientific dealing with those who may become criminals. Crime has a natural origin, he contends, and it is due to the interaction of anthropological, physical, and social factors. "This law brings about what I have called criminal saturation, which means that every society has the criminality which it deserves, and which produces by means of its geographical and social conditions such quantities and qualities of crime as correspond to the development of each collective human group."

Some readers of this admirable little book may be disturbed by the fact that the author declares against the possibility of free will; but he means simply that all actions are determined by causes, and that man cannot act as a lawless social force. We cannot claim that our freedom is without bonds, that it can be used without regard to other causing agents. That is all we need concede to Prof. Ferri or anyone else who accepts the ground of ethical determination. That much we must recognize if we assume that law acts in human life, that for man as for nature there is a lawfulness to be accepted without hesitation. Without such lawfulness no science could exist; and that it is a foundation fact in man's economic, ethical and social life is all we are asked to concede. So much conceded we have here in briefest form a nobly scientific and inspiring study of one of the most striking phases of the social life of man.—G. W. C.

Keep It Up, Comrades.

That's right, bombard us with bundle orders for the special edition containing Strobell's fine article on Christianity and Socialism. See that it gets to every Christian in your vicinity. Do not miss this great chance. Send it to people of every church. Keep the press going on this most effective propaganda matter. Only one cent each in bundles, two cents each where we must address separate wrappers.

Comrade Strobell's "Items from Everywhere" being delayed we have used his space in this issue for Dr. Cooke,s excellent book reviews. Comrade Strobell's items will appear as usual hereafter.

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Any one in New England wishing to arrange for a lecture on Christian Socialism would do well to correspond with Rev. George Willis Cooke, 25 Beacon St., Boston.

I can not help congratulating you and Comrade Strobell on the Presbyterian Edition. It is a gem. It is one of the clearest expositions of the Christian attitude towards Socialism I ever read.
—RALPH KORNGOLD.

Speaker Cannon is reported to have said "There never was a nation in the world where wealth was so evenly distributed as in this country", which proves conclusively that Mr. Cannon needs to read American statistics—or has some other reason for making a statement so wild.

Our old friend and comrade Henry G. Terlisner, late of Danville, is now editing the Dixie Worker, at Nashville, Tenn., a union labor and socialist paper. It is a neat, newsy and promising paper. We wish for its backers and the cause in Dixie a great success.

To those who suggust that we print this, that, or the other thing which would make this paper more like other socialist papers we kindly reply that if this paper were like the other socialist papers it would have no reason for existence, as the other papers are ably covering their field. This paper has its own peculiar mission, which it must fulfil in its own way. All we covet is a chance to do our work better on the plans we are now following.

We shall soon enlarge the conception of religion till we shall not use the term at all in a special or restricted sense. We shall see that all lovers of truth are lovers of God. When one pauses to look at it, what utter selfishness or selfism lies at the bottom of the old creeds—the one thought of a man to secure his personal safety from some impending danger. The soldier who is a determined to come out of the battle with a whole skin is not the ideal soldier. The man of science, the truth lover, how much more worthy his self-forgetfulness, his renunciation, which has in view no personal end whatever. The new birth of science,—the dropping of all worldly and secondary ends, the absolute devotion to the truth for its own sake,—is there anything more truly religious than this?—*John Burroughs.*

Regular Socialist Papers

The CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST is unique among socialist papers and does not intend in any way to encroach upon the others. To those who desire any of the regular Socialist Party papers, we recommend the New York Worker, the Chicago Socialist, the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Herald, the St. Louis Labor, the Los Angeles Common Sense, the Caldwell (Idaho) Socialist and the Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kansas. The latter has the largest circulation of any socialist paper in the world.

Five copies of the Christian Socialist one whole year for $2.00. Get four subscribers at 50c and yours comes free. That's easy.

What the Christian Socialist needs more than anything else is an editor. The editor has been very busy away from home neglecting his editorial work eleven months out of the last twelve, and must continue to do so, more or less, until the income of the paper will justify a salary to support his family. If he could stay with the paper even half of the time, a vast improvement would result.

Comrades, if it is right to support a minister, a union organizer, a lodge promoter, a Socialist organizer, a teacher, or any other public servant by direct subscription, would it not be right, wise and of immeasurable importance to arrange for the support of the editor of the Christian Socialist so that he might be permitted to do the work to which he is called?

There are twelve hundred more bonafide, paid-up subscriptions to the Christian Socialist than there were a year ago—which is most encouraging considering that it has had no resident editor, and the income of the paper is $1,000.00 more this year than last, which is also encouraging. But the price of the paper is so low in proportion to its cost that it will require an immense increase in circulation to afford a regular salary out of profits on the paper.

Doubtless it is better to have the Christian Socialist as it is than to have none of it; but the possibilities of improving it are so many, its opportunity is so great and it is of such vast and growing importance to the movement that we feel it should be speedily equipped for larger and better service.

There are three things our readers can do. First, send in clubs of subscriptions for the paper more rapidly than ever. Second, send all the money you can spare to help equip the paper for better work. Third, send us your suggestions.

"It is clear," says Mr. Bryan, "that the first battle between the individualist and the Socialist must be upon the field of ethics. No one who has faith in the triumph of the right (and who can contend with vigor without such a faith?) can doubt that that which is ethically best will finally prevail in every department of human activity."

This sounds as if he had pretty nearly given up the fight, for the strongest objection to Socialism (as to the Sermon on the Mount) is that "It is too good to be true;" "It is a beautiful dream but impracticable unless human nature is changed," etc. For further light on the ethics of Socialism read Blatchford's great article on "The Survival of the Fittest" in this issue.

The central tenet of modern Socialism, that "All wealth is created by labor, and, therefore, belongs to the laborers who have produced it," is a proposition positively impregnable. It is sound and logical.—Rev. Stanley L. Krebs.

Some have the idea that when the Socialist speaks of labor being the source of all wealth he means "manual labor only" and scorns mental labor, "ignoring the products of the mind altogether." Nothing could be farther from the truth concerning the Socialist viewpoint, and the literature of Socialism completely refutes the idea.

Productive labor, according to the Socialist philosophy, includes not only intelligent use of muscle, but all superintendence, all invention, all art—including music, sculpture, painting, literature, the drama, etc. It includes teaching, jurisprudence, statesmanship and every thought and act of man which is of actual service to society. So careful are the Socialist writers to make this clear that they separate the **useful service** of such men of wealth as actually superintend a railroad, factory or mine from their absolute uselessness as mere capitalists and say that for all their useful service they should have reward as producers, while, in the main, their wealth is derived from useless and injurious exploitation. As mere capitalists they condemn them. As workers with hand or brain they commend them.—E. E. C.

"Laborers and professional men can, by the exercise of honesty, industry, sobriety and economy, honorably amass a fortune of $500,000.00," says a recent book on economics.

This tends to take one's breath away!

Please observe that "honesty, industry, sobriety and economy" (but no speculation or any other form of gambling or robbery) are permitted. This simplifies the problem and shows at a glance how absurd is the statement.

The "laborer" who gets $1,000.00 per year is so rare that we will not be accused of partiality if we take him as our example. Suppose he works all the time and spends absolutely nothing to support himself and family (being supported, let us say, by the ravens), which is sobriety and economy enough doubtless, yet it would require FIVE HUNDRED YEARS for him to accumulate $500,000.00. But if perchance, as some men must, he spends $500.00 per year to support his family, it would require one thousand years to accumulate this "normal" fortune.

If the worker got all the product of his labor, instead of the less than one-fifth he now gets, and lived with his family humanly, it would require nearly two hundred years. A professional man with a salary of $5,000.00 per year, saving half of it, might reach the goal in two hundred years,—if some enterprising devotee of modern finance, in whose creed honesty is unknown, did not get it all long, long before.

The simple fact is no family can live a human life, much less get rich honestly, out of the wages of labor today. To get rich under this competitive system something more (or less) than "honesty, industry, sobriety and economy" is necessary, namely, the will, skill and chance to "do" somebody. Not the people who

work at productive labor, but those who get other people to work for them gain fortunes. Not by saving, but by exploiting is wealth achieved. Riches are accumulated, by hook or by crook, out of other people's money. Riches spells robbery. This is why Christ condemned riches unqualifiedly.—E. E. C.

Bryan's "New" Issue.

Welcomed home from his old-world travels with the enthusiasm and eclat accorded to but few men in the history of our country and hailed by leading journals and politicians from every faction and section of the Democratic party as the only Moses "sane, safe, conservative" and strong enough to lead them to victory, Mr. Bryan's speech at New York has caused a strange stillness to fall upon the erstwhile vociferous Democrats. He had been hailed as their only savior from "the Socialism of Hearst," and when he promptly planted his feet squarely upon the Hearst platform of "public ownership of public utilities," especially railroads, old-school Democracy was speechless with disgust, wrath and dismay. Hoisted by their own petard, what can they do and where can they look for relief? It does not matter much now whether their nominee be Bryan or Hearst—it will be a Hearstite in either case—and if circumstances should make it Bryan and Hearst we would not be greatly surprised. This ticket would seem invincible against any ticket the Republicans might choose with Roosevelt out of the race, and with him as standard bearer the issue would be extremely doubtful, with the gambler's odds on the Democratic team. Bryan and Hearst both on the Democratic ticket would not only shake the country with a "whirlwind campaign," but it would be "a campaign of education" such as has never been seen in America, the effects of which the nation would never be able to cast off. And the times are ripe in this country for just such a campaign. It is the Democratic Party's last chance.

Meanwhile, what would the Socialists do? "This one thing," just keep pegging away revealing to men of all classes, especially the working classes, **the essential piracy, rottenness and hopelessness** of the competitive system of business and industry which Bryan, Hearst, Roosevelt, Cannon and all the other old party leaders defend; showing the people that the toiling masses must forever remain in poverty (in spite of government owned railroads) until collective production, collective ownership and equitable distribution of wealth becomes the national policy. It would indeed be a campaign of education, and the Socialists would plant their soap-box orators and their academic orators right in the very midst of it. Thus the nation would be prepared for the revolution that is surely coming. And no matter who is elected the Socialists will continue to stand squarely upon the one fundamental, revolutionary, **inevitable** principle of collectivism. As soon as Americans understand this principle they will adopt it and be forever blessed. Until then they will continue to chase chimerical "booms" and "issues" of one sort or another, as they have been doing for a quarter of a century. —E. E. C.

A Self-Evident Proposition.
By W. B. Gallaher.

It cannot be reasonably disputed that **every man** has an **equal** right with **every other man**, to possess and use all the means necessary to the attainment of his highest possible progress and development.

This indisputable **equal** right of **every** man, necessarily implies **equality of means** for its full exercise, by **each** and **every** man, and this **equality of means**, to this end, is **Socialism.**

This just and righteous possession of equal means to obtain one's highest possible progress and development consistently with that of every other man, does not new exist among men and cannot be justly or effectually brought into permanent existence, except in a Christian spirit of love and concession.

Hence nothing short of that Socialism which is called "Christian Socialism" because of its Christian spirit, can ever be practically and permanently realized among men.

English Christian Socialists

EXTRACT FROM LETTER FROM RICHARD HEATH, OF LONDON

"I do not think it strikes Socialists here as at all strange that Keir Hardie should be a Christian, or preach on Sundays. Several labor leaders are I believe Christian men, and the whole tradition of modern Socialism in England is Christian. F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley and John Ruskin were never tired of avowing themselves as such, and of intimating that it was the individualist who was not a Christian. Thus there has always been since their time a Church Socialism of which Dr. Westcott, late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, and Canon Scott Holland, have been distinguished leaders. There is in connection with the movement a nucleus of very distinguished men who may be regarded as Christian Socialists. They are churchmen of the best type.

Then there is an important movement in the same direction among the Friends. And the best and most influential leaders in the Free Churches may now be counted on as friends of Christian Socialism. I have seen rapid advance in the last two or three years--in this quarter especially, so that HERE it would only be among people who knew nothing of the socialist movement that there would be much surprise at hearing that a Socialist leader was a Chrhistian"

A Walk In The Moonlight

(From the translation of Jen Jaures' "Studies in Socialism," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons).

I was walking the other evening in the country with a young friend who had just graduated among the first of his class at the Ecole Polytechnique after having done very good work in literature, and who is as broadminded as he is keen.

Our way led over a broad upland, shut in on the left by low rounded hills which were separated by ravine-like meadows. The full moon lit up the fresh clear space, and the pale distant stars shone with a tender sweetness. The road, white under the radiance, stretched out straight before us, and was lost far away in the mystery of the horizon, bathed in light and shadow. It seemed to lead from reality to dreamland.

"Yes," I said to him, " the thing that angers me in our present society is not only the physical suffering that might be mitigated by another **regime**, but the moral suffering that is brought by a state of warfare and monstrous inequality.

"To labor should be a natural function and a joy; often it is nothing more than servitude and suffering. It ought to be the war waged by all mankind united against inanimate things, against the fatalities of nature and the difficulties of life; it is the war of man with man. Men spend their days struggling to take from one another the joys of life by fraud, by the arts of bitter greed, the oppression of the weak, and all the violent methods of unlimited competition. Even among those who are called happy there are few who are really happy, because the brutal conditions of life hold them in their grip; they hardly have the right to be just and kind under pain of ruin. In the universal warfare some are the slaves of their fortune as others are the slaves of their poverty. Yes, above and below, our present social order produces nothing but slaves, because those men are not free who have neither the time nor the strength to follow the noblest instincts of their minds and their souls.

"And if you look at the lower grades, what poverty you see, not only in the means of life, but in life itself! Look at the millions of laborers; they work in the factories and in the workshops, yet they have no right whatever in those factories and workshops; they can be turned out tomorrow. Neither have they any right over the machine they tend, no share of ownership in the immense tool that humanity has created bit by bit for itself; they are strangers in the organized power of the world; they are almost strangers in the civilization of the world.

"In the mines, the canals, the railroads, the ports, the prodigious applications of steam and electricity and all the great enterprises that develop the power and the pride of man. they have no part, no part at all, except that of inert instruments. They have no seat in the councils that decide on new undertakings and direct them; these are entirely in the hands of a limited class which knows all the joys of intellectual activity and hardy initiative, just as it possesses all the pleasures of wealth, and which would be happy if it were permitted to man to be happy apart from human solidarity. There are millions of laborers who are reduced to an inert and mechanical existence. And, terrifying as the idea is, if tomorrow machines could be substituted for them, nothing would be changed in human existence.

"When, on the contrary, Socialism has triumphed, when conditions of peace have supplanted conditions of combat, when all men have their share of property in the immense human capital, and their share of initiative and of the exercise of free-will in the immense human activity, then all men will know the fulness of pride and joy; and they will feel that they are co-operators in the universal civilization, even if their immediate contribution is only the humblest manual labor; and this labor, more noble in character because become fraternal, will be so regulated that the laborers shall always reserve for themselves some leisure hours for reflection and for a cultivation of the sense of life.

"They will have a better understanding of the hidden meaning of life, whose mysterious aim is the harmony of all consciences, of all forces, and of all liberties. They will understand history better and will love it, because it will be their history, since they are the heirs of the whole human race. Finally, they will understand the universe better; because when they see conscience and spirit triumphing in humanity, they will be quick to feel that this universe which has given birth to humanity cannot be fundamentally brutal and blind, that there is spirit everywhere, soul everywhere, and that **the universe itself is simply an immense confused aspiration toward order, beauty, freedom and goodness.** Their point of view will be changed; they will look with new eyes not only at their brother men, but at the earth and the sky, rocks and trees, animals, flowers and stars.

"And that is why we have the right to think of these things in the open fields and under the starlit sky. Yes, we can call the sublime night to witness our sublime hopes, the night in which new worlds are being formed in secret, and we can mingle the immense sweetness and gentleness of peaceful nature with our vision of human gentleness and sweetness."

Note by Editor: Socialism is before all things an international movement, and Americans should make themselves thoroughly and sympathetically acquainted with the movement in other countries and with its leaders there. We recommend all to read the book of essays by the great Frenchman, Jaures, from which the above is taken. It will be sent by the Christian Socialist, on receipt of $1.00.

John Spargo's Books.

I wish to say the strongest possible word of appreciation and praise for the books which John Spargo has published during the past year. His interpretation of Socialism is more satisfactory to me than any other which I know. He is a clear and forceful writer, and appreciates fully what most readers need in the way of simplification and exposition.

Spargo was born in England, took his place for a time in a conservative, then in a liberal pulpit; but he felt for and with the people around him, came under the condemnation of the man who pays the bills, and then withdrew to work actively with and for the wage-earners. He came under the influence of William Morris, learned the significance of the Socialist movement, and since has largely developed himself to that interest. He came to New York eight years ago, and for two or three years edited "The Comrade," one of the best Socialist monthlies ever published in this country. He showed a power of graphic and effective writing of a high order, and he gave a literary character to his magazine too little appreciated anywhere. He is an able lecturer, both to cultivated and to proletarian audiences, and has done some very effective work in that line.

Two years ago it was proposed to follow Robert Hunter's powerful book on "Poverty" (New York, Macmillan, $1.50; paper 25 cts.) by one on the conditions of child labor; and Hunter and Spargo were to write it in co-operation. This plan of collaboration did not prove practicable, and the work was prepared by Spargo under the title of "The Bitter Cry of the Children" (Macmillan, $1.50). It is a book of scientific fidelity in the presentation of facts and their faithful interpretation. It is written with skill, continuous interest, and profound sympathy, with the result that it is a book no one can put aside without giving heed to its claims.

Spargo treats of all phases of the child-problem of poverty and neglect. He shows how children in the cities are left without an adequate education, often without any that can be called such with the least regard to truth. He treats of the blighting effect of poverty in bringing upon them disease and death. Then he presents the facts in regard to child-labor, giving such statistics as are procurable. We have held up our hands in horror at the revelations regarding child-labor in England in the early years of the nineteenth century, but Spargo brings the facts to prove that the conditions in this country today are in every respect as bad. The cause is the same, economic demands. Cheap labor rules, humanity is turned out of doors.

In this book Spargo presents Socialism as the adequate and effective remedy, but he does not burden the reader with its claims. He shows clearly where he stands, and leaves the facts he presents to make their own argument. In this he shows a wise moderation, and a just regard to the best method of convincing his reader. He is a Socialist who recognizes that other men have a right to their opinions, and that it is facts which will convince, not mere arguments. He also shows discretion as well as wisdom in presenting the facts he has brought together, since he has seen that the appeal to sympathy in presenting the claims of the children is a more powerful argument than condemnation of city authorities or mill owners.

For myself, the facts he presents afford the most commanding argument in behalf of the economic view of life that I have ever read. He does not argue for the "economic interpretation of history," but the conditions imposed on thousands of children for the sake of profits show unmistakably what the economic demand is, and how it works without regard to the bodies or the minds of children, women, and men.

As a treasury of facts Spargo's book is of the first importance. It ought to stand on the book-shelf of every Socialist by the side of Hunter's "Poverty." With it ought to be placed Spargo's "Underfed School Children: The Problem and the Remedy," (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr, 10 cents.) the substance of which is given in an appendix to "The Bitter Cry of the Children." It shows what has been done in many cities to remedy the evil of poverty as it hinders children from securing an education. Spargo also discusses in his book the various means of overcoming poverty, limiting child-labor, and making disease less destructive to child-life. One most hopeful claim he makes is, that the children of the poor are not burdened with the taint of hereditary transmission more than the children of the prosperous. In many other respects, dark as the facts are he presents, his book brings hope and promise of better things.

Spargo is a Socialist. He makes that clear in two other books he has recently published. The first of these appears in Kerr's "Standard Socialist Series" under the title of "The Socialists: Who They Are, and What They Stand For" (Chicago, Kerr, 50cts). The purpose of this book is to present Socialism in a simple form for those who have not the time or capacity for elaborate and abstruse books. It gives the whole subject in briefest space; but clearly, forcibly, and adequately. Spargo is a master at simple exposition, and he fully recognizes what will appeal to the general reader. No book is better suited for the beginner or for one who has not hitherto known anything of Socialism. Spargo's manner of presentation is conciliatory, persuasive, convincing; but it is also faithful and able. He does not omit what is important for the sake of winning a convert, but he does not antagonize where it is unnecessary. This is the best book for propaganda purposes of which I know, and I would heartily recommend it to all seeking such a work in brief compass and at moderate price.

A larger and more scientific book, though it is of small size, is Spargo's "Socialism: A Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles" (New York, Macmillan, $1.25). This book of 250 pages gives a very complete and satisfactory exposition of Socialism for the more trained and scientific reader. In saying this it is not meant that it is abstruse and difficult to understand. On the contrary, Spargo's love of simple and forceful statement keeps him from using high-sounding but obscure words, and from clothing his statements in phraseology which obscures but which does not interpret. What he says is to the point, easily understood, and pregnant with meaning. He gets rid of the metaphysical terminology so many Socialists cling to with great tenacity; and phrases not commonly used he translates into the vernacular. His book is therefore a model for all writers in its directness, its comprehensiveness, and its conciseness.

He opens his book with a chapter on the changed attitude towards Socialism. Two chapters follow on the early phases of the Socialist movement. Then he deals with the materialist conception of history, capitalism and the law of concentration, the class struggle, and the economics of Socialism. These five chapters of exposition are concise, forceful, and convincing. Much more could be said on these subjects, but they are here treated in a manner that is at once profound, scientific, and yet illuminating. The closing chapter gives a statement of the author's idea of how Socialism will be put into operation. It is sane, evolutionary, and adequate. Some readers will ask for what is more revolutionary; but Spargo justly recognizes that the world was not made in a day, and cannot be remade in an hour.

This book is one which can be recommended to scientific students. It will at once take its place as superior to all other expositions of Socialism for investigators. Sociologists and others who are asking for an authoritative and adequate interpretation of Socialism will turn to this book as the one most worthy of their attention. Its clarity, moderation, and scientific spirit will commend it everywhere.

The critic is supposed to dissect a book, and expose all its imperfections. On the other hand, I much prefer praising a good book and commending it to those who will read it for themselves. I do not wish to say that Spargo's book is perfect. He has given us such a very satisfactory book I wish he had made it better. Now and then he is too good a Socialist. I am somewhat disappointed that he does not make more adequate confession of the limitations of his interpretation of society. Marx, Engels, and the others, have said that the economic interpretation does not explain all human facts and experiences. Spargo makes the same confession in quite the proper orthodox fashion for Socialists. But why did he not tell us what it is outside economic forces which is determinative? Where does psychology, where ethics, find their place as supplementary to economic forces? I expected Spargo to deal with this phase of Socialism somewhat adequately, but he has not done it. I think it a serious limitation of his book. It is a question every scientific reader of the book will ask of the author, and it ought to have been answered with something more than a general phrase.

But I am not disposed to complain of so competent and sane a book, so thorough, so level-headed, so admirably reasoned. What I wish I could do is to persuade every reader of these words to possess himself at once of all of Spargo's books, and to read them with diligence and scientific attention.—G. W. C.

The Real Union Labor Party.

The Social Democratic aldermen in the Milwaukee city council gave the old party politicians a terrible shock last Monday. As the Republican and Democratic aldermen entered the council chamber, they were startled to see the galleries crowded with workingmen. The mayor and city attorney came over to the Socialist aldermen and anxiously inquired what they had up their sleeves? They received no enlightenment until the order of new business was reached. Then a Social-Democratic alderman offered the following resolution: "Whereas, more than 1,200 molders residing in the city of Milwaukee were forced to lay down their work May 1, 1906, in order to secure a living wage, and whereas, about 100 men have been imported from all over the country by the Milwaukee members of the Foundrymen's Association for the purpose of breaking said strike and to crush the Molders' Union; and whereas, said strike-breakers are a dangerous class of people and are likely to become a serious menace to the city if their numbers are increased, therefore, be it resolved, that the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee hereby extends its sympathy to said striking molders and respectfully recommends that the Foundrymen's Association grant their demands without unnecessary delay. Further resolved, that the city clerk is hereby directed to mail forthwith a copy of this resolution to each Milwaukee member of said Foundrymen's Association." The Republican and Democratic aldermen were dumbfounded. They looked along the gallaries filled with resolute-looking workingmen, and they thought of election day. Then they proposed a compromise, advising that the strikers and their employers "settle their differences," but the Social-Democratic aldermen would none of it. Alderman Melms, (Social-Democrat) defended the cause of the striking molders in a fine and effective speech. Finally, under compulsion of the Social-Democrats in the galleries and on the floor of the council, the old party politicians were obliged to take their medicine. The resolutions were passed without change of one word, and with only two dissenting votes. This is probably the first time in the history of the country that the common council of any American city ever advised capitalists to grant the demands of their striking workmen. Here again we see what a Socialist minority can do.

(*Continued from Page 2*)

the degree of public welfare provided. The sociologist is deeply interested in the question of social combination which the trust has raised, and what is suggested in regarded to methods of co-operation as superior to those of competition. It will take a considerable period for the people as well as the leaders of industrial interests to adjust their ideas to the new emphasis given to combination as an economic and social process. In time this will come about, and we shall be as ready to argue on the basis of combination as we now are on that of competition.

In the meantime, grave injustice will be done if theories based on antiquated economic conditions are held to vigorously, and it is required that the trusts shall go back to the acceptance of handicraft laws when they have wholly abandoned handicraft methods of production. Restraint of trade should not be interpreted to mean that combination shall not be permitted, whether honest or dishonest. It may be assumed, as it has on the part of many, that all combination is in its very nature dishonest as well as illegal. This is wholly wrong, and in the end will defeat itself.

The trusts have made a great practical discovery for the economist and sociologist. While the method of co-operative distribution has been actively employed in England and other European countries for nearly a century, and with great success; and co-operative production with a growing degree of success, yet they have not attained a position which has commanded for the law of combination respect and general acceptance. This the trust method has done, and in that particular field of production where it attracts attention and commands recognition.

Also for the moralist the problem is one of commanding interest. The ethical phase may not attract the share-holder in the corporations whose interests are involved in the trust combinations, yet it is one of urgent importance. Shall great wealth be exempt from the law, and ignore conditions of honesty and fair-dealing? That cannot be assumed for a moment, therefore it is unfortunate that so many moral questions are involved with the economic. Part of these it must be recognized, are due to the assumed immorality of conduct which is not in harmony with the law of competition. On the other hand, the outcome is likely to be when the law of combination comes into full recognition, one of moral advantage. Competition means battle constantly between individuals and corporations, employers and employed; but the method of combination does away with this process of struggle. In so far it has a positive ethical advantage, and one of the highest importance. While the chief end of production is profits we cannot assume that this ethical advantage is altogether one that is humane and beneficent. The elimination of the method of combat, however, will work out its own higher results.

Whatever the limitations of the trust method of production it has shown some beneficent results. Many of the great industrial establishments have indicated a high degree of ethical regard for the workers employed by them and have secured to them many beneficent helps in the way of shorter hours, larger pay, more hygienic conditions for the protection of health, old age pensions, and other helps, none of which secure the last final move in the direction of adjustment of the relations of employer and laborer, yet in themselves are friendly and conciliatory. Whatever in the growing spirit of combination brings workers into more sympathetic and juster relations to their employers is ethical, and full of promise for the future.

In so far as the trust makes toward the elimination of the spirit of war from economic conditions it is helpful to the cause of a genuine religion. We may not expect the gospel to grow that way, and yet it tends in its own measure towards securing the spirit of fellowship in real life because it recognizes that the law of co-operation is natural, just and humane. While the law of business is the law of combat no great prosperity for practical religion can be expected. If the law of combination as it works out in the trust is purely negative, it has at least the merit of suggesting that men are to find their ultimate prosperity in co-operation, in fellowship, and in unity of aim. Some one has said that the nation should own the trusts, and that indicates the manner in which the new adjustment is to be made between fellowship and economic conditions.

Perhaps it is not to be anticipated that for a long time business will be conducted under the law of bearing burdens. That is can be so conducted all co-operative methods hint, and give goodly promise. What will be the final outcome of the search for the method of combination that will give men in all their interests brotherliness no one can say at the present time. We must grow into this larger and truer method. That one step has been taken in the trust towards this result we may surmise, and believe with some confidence. Albeit, it is an awkward and stumbling method, a hint and little more, with many imperfections and limitations; but in the next or some coming generation, it may be productive of a nobler and wiser method of conducting the world's business.

Brotherhood is the law of human life and we have no right to deny it in the name of science or practical conduct. Combat may be the law of the creatures of the wild; but for man as he grows to his full estate, it cannot be recognized as worthy or true. It is not scientific, ethical or religious. These human forces combine to say that man's prosperity is secured by the help of his kind, and that while any suffer all suffer. The good of all is the good of each one, and not one can perish that all are not injured. When any prosper all should prosper with them. When we recognize that ethical principle, then we shall be on the right way; and business and the ethical ideal will come into full harmony with each other.

Persecution In Georgia.

The Christian Socialist.

Comrades: Comrade James B. Osborne, candidate for Governor of Georgia on the Socialist ticket, was arrested Thursday, Aug. 23rd for holding a public meeting on the street. After being refused a permit, notification was served on the Mayor and the chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners that we would hold a series of meetings, the first one being held Tuesday, Aug. 21st, being unmolested (presumably, on account of the Democratic primaries). The trial of Comrade Osborne was held yesterday (the 24th) and he was sentenced to serve 30 days in the stockade.

Comrades, we have entered this fight and intend to win, but we need your assistance and those Comrades wishing to see a successful finish to this fight will please send contributions to,

A. WAMSER, Fin. Sec.,
398 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga.

Boelsche On "The Triumph of Life."

Mr. Kerr is doing a splendid work in his "Library of Science for the Workers." To bring science within the reach of all is a great demand of our day. This implies that it shall be presented in a simple and attractive form. This is what has been secured in most of the books of this series. One of the latest of its volumes is "The Triumph of Life," by Wilhelm Boelsche, translated by Mrs. May Wood Simmons (Chicago, Chas. H. Kerr, 50 cts.) The book is based on a course of popular illustrated lectures given at the Institute of Popular Natural Science, in Berlin.

Boelsche writes interestingly and graphically. He makes science poetic, amost too much so; but he certainly makes it picturesque and vivid. He shows how life originated on the earth, and how it has advanced from the most primitive cell through endless gradations, but continuously, to man. To make the idea of evolution real, concrete, and simple, is the great need of popular instruction; and this Boelsche has succeeded in accomplishing. While his book is not technically scientific, it is in harmony with the most advanced teachings of the evolutionists. His manner of presenting the subject gives the reader who runs as he reads an idea of evolution that he can carry with him, and this is a most important thing to accomplish. We commend the book to all who are seeking a vivid presentation of the manner in which life began and how the process of evolution has worked to reach its highest stages.—G. W. C.

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

(Order of the Christian Socialist)

Every one ought to read Robert Hunter's "Poverty." It is clear, sane, instructive and tremendously impressive. An ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory. This book is packed with vital facts. Paper 25c. Cloth $1.25.

Frances E. Willard's declarations in favor of Socialism may be had in beautiful pamphlet form for 10c each or 60c per dozen.

The Social Element in Christianity by Rev. Dr. Harvey D. Brown is well worth your attention. In artistic pamphlet form for only 15c.

The Most Interesting Phenomenon of the Twentieth Century by Rufus W. Weeks may be had for 1c each in bundles of ten or more. 70c per hundred. "An Appeal to the Churches by Socialist Christians" by the same author, ten for 5c 50c per hundred.

The Captive City of God is a striking volume by Richard Heath of London, Eng., on religion and socialism; one of the ablest and most comprehensive discussions of the subject. Price 25c.

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(Translated from Paul Passy's paper, "The Alarm Bell.")

Our friend, Keir Hardie, the leader of the Socialist and labor group in the British Parliament, and a pronounced Christian, is carrying on an active campaign among his fellowmembers, to induce them to sign an abstinence pledge to hold good throughout the session. He has obtained several score of signatures—among them nearly all the labor members.